2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

173 582 must not be confounded with the town of Dibra, and of which I have no information. Both these two bairaks can marry the former three.

173 166 I was told by members of the groups that the Mirdite-Shala-Shoshi came from the Pestriku mountains, near Djakova, when the Turks were first pressing westward. Before this emigration they had formed part of the Ipek group of tribes and were all Christian. (There is some reason to believe that at one time the Mirdites were Orthodox.) They further stated that when the Turks took Scutari and were harrying the land they fled back for a time to their old Pestriku mountains, and only returned to their present position some 259 years ago. The name "Mirdite" is of late occurrence—about the middle of the seventeenth century. It is possible that before their second shifting they were known only as Dukagini. Of Lek Dukagin they are extremely proud, and state that the Bijelopavlitchi (sons of White Paul) in Montenegro are de- 292 scended from his nephew, Pal i bardhe (Paul the White). They declared 765 Skender Beg to have been related to him, and for this reason the Mirdite women wear the black giurdan in mourning for him, worn otherwise only by men.

614 582 These three bairaks, Orosho, Spachi, and Kusneni, marry principally with Kthela and Luria.

KTHELA

701 614 619 In war Kthela marches with Mirdita. These two had the right to lead the tribes to all wars in the South. Hoti led to all wars in the North. Kthela consists of three bairaks: Kthela, all Catholic; Selati and Perlati, mixed Catholic and Moslem.

4. The Wholly Moslem Tribes

619 779 186 These lie for the most part east of the Christian groups, on the more fertile and lower-lying lands. They were reluctant to admit foreigners and averse to being questioned. Since I visited them they have been largely exterminated by the Serbs and Montenegrins, and how much is left of their former strength and number is unknown.

DIBRA GROUP

619 614 779 582 1. *Luria.*—Was the head of the group and consisted of one bairak of some two hundred houses, in twenty of which there were some Catholics. In 1908 Mohammedanism was making rapid progress. When Christian, which it was till recently, it married as a rule with

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

764 into it, and even the men are frequently heard to sob aloud. As soon as it is filled up, however, a sudden silence prevails, for now the *Kokiete*, the Greek Kólyva (Κόλυβα)[1] is handed round, and it is accounted sinful to mourn whilst eating it. As each person takes a handful of this funeral dish, he says, "May he (or she) be forgiven."

765 On this and the two following days, the house of mourning is filled with a succession of condoling friends, who bring with them all the food necessary for the family, for no cooking is done in it during this period. Others send presents of wine or spirits, the bearer of which delivers them with the words: "May I have come for your good." On the third day, the wailing at the grave is repeated, and continued in the house of mourning for forty days, being performed either early on the morning of each day, or on Sundays and feast days only, by the women of the house and those who visit them for this purpose.

With members of the Orthodox Church it is customary, as among the Greeks, to exhume the bones at the end of three years. Moslems, however, have a great dislike to disturbing a dead body in any way.

765 761 The grief of relatives is, as a rule, less demonstrative for the death of a woman; and for a man well stricken in years, no wailing takes place. In the latter case, the deceased has usually set aside one or more sheep to be sacrificed on his death as an atonement for his sins, the flesh of which serves for the funeral feast. At this feast, the guests drink "to

[1] See description of this funeral dish, vol. i. p. 99.

Analyst's note: Kólyva is made of flour, boiled wheat, pomegranates, raisins, nuts, and spices.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

765 ●
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the forgiveness" of the departed, and sing funeral songs in his honour.

When, as often happens, a man dies at a distance from his home, on the arrival of the tidings of his death, the funeral ceremonies are, with the exception of the actual interment, performed as above described. The women lament, friends hasten to comfort them, and the procession goes to church, the place of the bier being occupied by a youth, who carries the dish of *Kólyva*, on which is placed a cake for the priest.

765

Only slight changes are generally made in their dress by the Albanian women on the death of a relative. The chief mourners cut their hair short, turn their coats inside out, so that the fur lining alone is seen, and lay aside all ornaments. The nieces of the deceased allow their hair to hang loose for some months, or cut off a lock, and wear on their heads a black kerchief. A similar head-dress is assumed by the widow, who, if she has arrived at middle age, wears it for the rest of her life. If, however, she is still young, and intends to return to her father's house with the expectation of finding another husband, she wears at the same time her bridal apparel, and does not manifest such an exaggerated degree of grief.

[604]

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Sometimes, as illustrated in the history of Shainitza[1] and in folk-tale,[2] the grief of the women finds expression in giving to their dwelling the most dismal and funereal appearance, by painting black either the whole of the outside of the house, or the shutters only, and covering up or removing from their usual places the mirrors and other ornaments.

[1] See p. 225. [2] P. 315.

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

loss of face. At Krujë in 1930 when the authorities sought to punish a man who had murdered his brother during a quarrel, the widow swore that the pistol had gone off accidentally when her brother-in-law was trying to wrest it from her husband, who had threatened suicide. Having thus prevented the authorities from taking action, the widow made no effort to keep the true story of the murder quiet, but repeated it every day during the month when the women met for the ceremonial 'keening'. She was also openly commended by the public for preventing the government from shaming her husband's family by arresting the murderer.

Exceptionally, if the murderer's motive was bad by tribal standards, his relative was well avenged. For instance, if a man killed his cousin or nephew to get his land, the crime was considered so anti-social that the murderer was killed by the community, his blood was lost, and his family expelled. Again, exceptionally, a motive might be so good by tribal standards as to win the murderer public admiration. Thus children in Shalë were taught with great pride that once a tribesman killed his brother for killing a guest, for an Albanian's duty to his guest transcends the claims of blood relationship.

Two modifications of the general rule are to be noted. In Mirditë in spite of the victim's blood being lost, the murderer had to pay the tribe the fine due in cases of ordinary murder, 100 rams and an ox. In the Malësi e Madhe if the two brothers had separated the fratricide had to pay blood money to his brother's dependants. If the widow had no children, she took all the money; if she had a daughter only, she again took it all, for when the time came for the girl to marry, she would as 'head of the family' have to pay the wedding expenses; if she had a son, he took all the money, for his father's death had made him head of the family. The blood money was therefore alimony payable to the widow and orphans who had been robbed of their breadwinner. If the two brothers had not separated, the fratricide as a matter of course supported the widow and orphans along with the other members of his household and the question of alimony did not arise.

Parricide was thought the most abhorrent of all murders within the family. In a sense a father had the right to kill his son without being asked by anybody what he had done, but a son unnatural enough to kill his father could surely not have been got by that father, but must be a bastard. Even where his crime was regarded

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl
[Laws enacted in Kastrat and Bajzë on Nov. 1, 1892]

Whoever brings pigs or sheep to Shpellë will be fined 50 grosh. [681]
Whoever washes clothes at Shpellë will be fined 50 grosh.[1] [231]

21. A man who leaves his sureties to pay his debt is to pay a fine of [296]
225 grosh to his creditor and 150 grosh to the chiefs and 5 rams.

VI. Supplement dated 1894.

(From Father Gjeçov, *Kanùn*, pp. 124–5.)

1. Whoever takes a woman to live with him without marrying her or [837]
runs off with a married woman or a girl shall pay 1000 grosh to the Church, 500 grosh to the chiefs and 10 rams.

2. Whoever tears his face in mourning and lamentation for the dead, [765]
shall pay 1000 grosh to the Church, 1000 grosh to the chiefs and 10 rams.

3. Whoever does not permit the chiefs and fine-collectors to carry [696]
out a tribal law will be fined 500 grosh and 5 rams.

4. Whoever commits a murder during a truce or after the feud has [628]
been compounded will be fined 6 purses and 10 rams.

5. Whoever fires a rifle in a house where there is a wedding shall, [585]
whether he be a guest or the master of the house, pay 500 grosh and 5 rams.

The same fine shall be paid by whoever annoys another with abuse at table whether at a dinner or a wedding.

6. Whoever acts contrary to these laws, whether he be chief, fine- [554]
collector, or commoner, shall pay 3000 grosh.

Brahim Beg *serxherde*
Kasem Beg *bylikbash*
Dodë Prençi bajraktar
Zenel Shebani
Gjokë Doda
Keq Prela
Zef Gjeka
Prelë Toma
Gjelosh Nika
Vukusa' Leka
Brahim Vuksani

[In front of each of these names there is a Turkish seal.]

VII. Solemn Pledge for Flock and Shepherd in Nikaj and Shalë, St Prende's Day 1894.

681 491 574

(From Father Gjeçov, *Kanùn*, pp. 119–20.)

1. As regards roads it has been enacted as follows:
From the fountain in Faqe to the crucifix in Brazhdë the road is

[1] (Note by Father Gjeçov: Shpellë is the place where Bajzë and district take water.)

10. Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

X. Decisions Taken on April 30th, 1905, by the Youth of Shalë.

(From Father Gjeçov, *Kanùn*, pp. 126–7.)

1. As from to-day up to Ash Wednesday the percentage on loans at interest is to be paid with 25 okes of grain. If this is not paid by Ash Wednesday, a percentage of 30 okes is to be taken by force from the debtor.

As interest 100 grosh or 100 okes of grain as the creditor wishes are to be paid. Let him take 100 grosh if it suits him, or if he says, 'I'll have grain', let them give him 100 okes of grain.

2. Grain is never to be given to anybody by a man of Shalë unless it is wanted for a funeral meal or it is desired to make a present of not more than 20 okes.

3. Raki is never to be produced by a man of Shalë at a funeral meal except during the seven weeks of Lent.

4. No man of Shalë is ever to give away more than 100 grosh either outside or inside the tribe.

A godmother is not to present a red *xhamadam* (sleeveless jacket).

No woman is to go to a wedding in a party of five or more and they are not to seek a woman outside the same house.[1]

5. Whoever fires the first shot in the yard of a church or inside its boundaries is to have his house burned and must pay 20 purses under the guarantee of flock-cum-shepherd and the youth of Shalë.

6. If a man disturbs a mass that is being said and if the priest, crucifix in hand, says, 'So-and-so has troubled me', the offender will have his house burned and must pay a fine of 2 oxen to the tribe.

7. Whoever touches Church property must pay a fine of 2 oxen to the tribe.

8. Whoever molests the Church servant must pay a fine of 2 oxen to the tribe.

9. If anyone borrows coffee and sugar from the priest for a funeral meal and does not return them to him within four weeks, and if the priest complains, he must pay a fine of one ox to the tribe.

10. Whoever steals an ewe, goat and cow from a man of Shalë and whoever does anything to his neighbour that disgraces him, shall have his harvest burned, his fields plucked bare and his grain panniers smashed. He will pay fines of one ox to the youth and 2 rams to the government representative.

11. These laws, enacted by the youth of Shalë together with the

[1] The last clause of § 4 is given as in Mrs Hasluck's MS., but there seems to be some mistake, as the corresponding passage in the Italian version of Father Gjeçov's *Kanùn* runs:

Lo shalano non può fare il compare più di 5 volte, e non può chiedere che si leghino in comparto più di 5 famiglie.

11: Start E-4 (no date) 1939 EF1 Yugoslavia
Albania EG1

B. The Japangi.

The japangi is the out-of-door cloak of a married woman, and is presented as a wedding gift from the bridegroom to his bride.* It is made of scarlet cloth or felt, often imported from Austria, and the handsome silk embroidery which decorates it is the work of Albanian men tailors. It is interesting to note that according to old archives " Scarlet cloth was one of the items the Venetians used to bestow on local Albanian chieftains in the days of Venetian domination in the Adriatic."†

The garment consists of two parts, the large circular cape and a rectangular flap for a hood which is attached to it (Plate XII a). Although the material is very wide there are some joinings, and a curved gore or a long dart is cut and joined together again to make the cloak fit well on the shoulders.

It is handsomely trimmed by three panels of embroidery, one on either side of the front, like the one at the left only in " b " on Plate XII, and one across the shoulders at the back (Plate XII c). These panels consist of strips, about an inch wide, of scarlet and dark red or maroon or black cloth seamed together to form a background of stripes upon which an elaborate pattern is solidly worked in chain-stitch in yellow, white, green and violet silk, the silk being home grown, spun and dyed in most cases. The joining of the front and back panels is disguised by a number of rows of plaited braids, plain yellow ones being used alternately with mixed red, black and white ones (Plate XII h). The silk strands of which the braids are made form a long fringe at either end (Plate XII g). " The embroidery is very noteworthy. It is done entirely by men, and the patterns are traditional and vary very little, a bird, possibly a dove (Plate XII f), a serpent (Plate XII e), flowers and an ear of corn (Plate XII d) are always included, and it was impossible to get any explanation from the embroiderers as to why these items were always to be found. After much discussion by one excellent worker with his fellows they decided that it must be some old tale, long forgotten. The flowers and corn may be fertility emblems as this is a marriage garment." (M.E.D.).

When a woman becomes a widow she removes the embroidered panels and substitutes some black stripes instead, whose arrangement is shown at the right hand side of the front view of the japangi at " b " on Plate XII. A sketch (No.1935-27) by Miss Durham of a Scutarene widow wearing a japangi with black stripes can be seen in the museum collection.

No. 1935-22. In addition to the japangi with the embroidery just described there are two other examples of the sets of embroidered panels, both from Scutari (Skodar), and one of which is drawn at " g " on Plate XII.

The fine felt stripes of which this ground is made are scarlet and very dark maroon, and the design and the technique of the embroideried work far outshines that of the other two specimens. Ivory silk chain-stitch, generally outlined in yellow, fills most of the important motives, but touches of pale blue, reseda green and violet appear here and there. The changes in the background colour enhance the richness of the general effect and part of the illustration at " g " on Plate XII has been filled in to give some idea of this variation in tone. The serpent, dove and corn

* M. E. Durham: " Some Balkan Embroideries." *Man.* Vol. XXIII. No. 8, 1923.
† loc. cit.

[Text continues on p. 57]